SOCIALISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE

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socialist culture and educating a new personality

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WHAT DOES SOCIALISM HAVE TO OFFER MAN? WHAT ACCOUNTS FOR THE VITALITY AND POWER OF SOCIALIST IDEAS? WHAT HAS SOCIALISM DONE TO PROMOTE THE ECONOMY, CULTURE AND SCIENCE? WHAT DIFFICULTIES AND PROBLEMS HAS SOCIALIST SOCIETY ENCOUNTERED?

HOW DOES SOCIALIST SOCIETY HELP THE INDIVIDUAL EXERCISE HIS TALENTS AND CREATIVE ABILITY?

WHEN THEY READ THE BOOKS IN THIS SERIES MANY PEOPLE WILL PROBABLY BE SURPRISED TO FIND THAT COMMUNIST IDEALS, WHICH ARE BASED ON LOVE FOR MAN AND CONCERN FOR THE GOOD OF EACH INDIVIDUAL IN MANY RESPECTS COINCIDE WITH THEIR OWN IDEALS.

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The twentieth century is an age of rapid and dynamic development, an age of sharp contradictions and radical changes in all spheres of life—economic, political and cultural.

The culture of society, being the whole body of material and spiritual values it inherits, creates and develops, has been undergoing important changes. The spiritual culture of a new society is closely associated with the development of its material culture, it is dependent on it and represents a many-sided, contradictory process.

The spiritual culture of individual nations and humanity as a whole, comprising achievements in science, education, philosophy, the arts, morals, language and thought, has gained new values in modern times. The most valuable of these are the most modern cultural achievements put at the service of man, liberating him from social and national oppression. They serve to educate a new personality, lighten labour,

improve living conditions and help people in the struggle for a happy life. The new culture developing in the socialist countries is this type of culture. It proclaims the principle "Everything for the Good and Happiness of Man."

The Ideological Basis of the New, Socialist Culture

The peoples of various countries and continents acquire knowledge and pass it on from generation to generation. They develop different kinds of art, build up moral ideals and customs, bring up new members of society, and so forth. We can distinguish three main features of this historical process. First of all, the progress of culture is a social phenomenon: it depends on the development of social relations and ultimately on material production. Secondly, in a class society spiritual culture has a class character. The culture of the oppressed classes (democratic culture, elements of arising socialist culture, etc.) opposes the prevailing culture of the exploiting classes (feudal lords, capitalists). Thirdly, continuity of development is of great importance in the history of culture. Every new society does not build up its culture anew, does not start from scratch, but inherits and makes use of the genuine cultural values created by the preceding societies, it assesses and develops the cultural

achievements of the past in its own way and in conformity with its own new social interests.

Socialist culture in the USSR is comparatively young. Conditions for its development appeared some half a century ago with the October Revolution of 1917. Revolutionary changes in society, the progress of science and technology, and the consequent building of the material basis of socialism, serve as a material foundation for this new, socialist culture, and Marxism-Leninism is its ideological and theoretical source. It insists that "*the elements* of democratic and socialist culture are present, if only in rudimentary form, in *every* national culture, since in *every* nation there are toiling and exploited masses, whose conditions of life inevitably give rise to the ideology of democracy and socialism." (Lenin. *Complete Works,* Vol. 20, p. 8).

If the elements of socialist culture express the ideology of the proletariat, scientifically substantiated by Marxism-Leninism, then elements of democratic culture express the ideology of the peasants, petty bourgeoisie of town and other working groups of society. The socialist and democratic culture oppose in different ways the domination and ideology of the exploiters and they are suppressed and persecuted in the old society where the power and means of production of material and cultural values are in the hands of the bourgeoisie and landlords. This was so in the Soviet Union before the establishment of worker-peasant

power and before the nationalisation of the principal means of production of material and spiritual values, including publishing houses, printing-works, scientific institutions, educational establishments, theatres, cinemas, museums, and so forth.

The victory of the socialist revolution has brought about a radical change in culture, and ushered in a whole era of cultural socialist revolution. Lenin once said: "From now on all the gains of culture belong to the nation as a whole, and never again will man's brain and human genius be used for oppression and exploitation." (Lenin. *Complete Works*, Vol. 26, p. 436).

Among the workers and peasants who helped gain victory in the October Revolution there were practically no scientists, artists, writers or philosophers. The revolutionary workers and peasants had no profound scientific knowledge or broad cultural outlook, they had no experience in building society or a new culture.

The young Soviet society was at once confronted with the problem of how to live and develop in an imperialist encirclement, how to rid itself of the filth and corruption of the society of landlords and bourgeoisie, how to bring up the new generation, to develop science, art and the culture of the new society.

Some opponents of the Revolution, particularly bourgeois professors, Mensheviks and other petty-bourgeois publicists, alleged that the cultural backwardness of the workers and peasants inherited from tsarist

Russia was an insurmountable obstacle and that it was therefore impossible to build socialism and a new culture until culture had first been brought within reach of the proletariat in capitalist conditions and the country had trained its own skilled workers.

In refuting these and similar views, Lenin pointed out that unless the people overthrew the landlords and capitalists and took power into their own hands, they could not become cultured. "Our opponents," he wrote in 1923, "said more than once that we were undertaking a senseless enterprise in implanting socialism in a country which is not cultured enough... We did not apparently begin from the right end, in accordance with theory (of all sorts of pedants) and... in our country the political and social upheaval proved to be the predecessor of the cultural upheaval, the cultural revolution which nevertheless we are now facing." (Lenin. *Complete Works,* Vol. 35, p. 289).

Some petty-bourgeois theorists like Bogdanov and preachers of "left-wing" art declared that the proletariat must itself build a proletarian culture anew, rejecting all preceding culture since it had been dominated by the exploiting classes. They rejected past scientific and artistic achievements. Their vulgar ideas led them to the nihilistic conclusion that with the overthrow of the rule of the old classes, the culture created by them must perish, too. These views were even shared by some honest writers, artists and scientists who sided with the Revolu-

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tion but thought that material culture and spiritual culture were one and the same thing. They did not realise that the ideology of the overthrown exploiting classes and the culture of old society contained valuable and progressive elements conforming to the objective truth, to the real course of nature and history. Everything that was valuable had to be saved by the revolutionary people by freeing culture from the influence of the reactionary ideology of the exploiting classes and placing it at the people's service, by making all genuine cultural values the property of the people, by critically reshaping and augmenting them. Lenin saw in this critical reshaping of the cultural legacy of the past a most important source of the new, socialist culture. "Only by an exact knowledge of the culture created by the whole development of mankind and only by reshaping this culture can we build proletarian culture," said Lenin. "...Proletarian culture must be the result of a natural development of the stores of knowledge which mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist society, landlord society, bureaucratic society." (Lenin. *Complete Works,* Vol. 41, pp. 304-305).

Lenin emphasised that a new, socialist culture could be only built by making use of and re-educating the old intelligentsia, with whose help a new, socialist intelligentsia could and had to be created. "We cannot build power," Lenin said, "unless such a legacy of capitalist culture as the intelli-

gentsia is made use of." (Lenin. *Complete Works,* Vol. 37, p. 223).

When power is in the hands of the people, national culture has a new, modern content. At the same time, the international content of the new, socialist culture is expressed in national forms. The valuable progressive legacy of the various national cultures makes up socialist culture. And the development of socialist culture in national forms enriches it and raises it to a higher level. Some people say that a cultural revolution takes place when one society is replaced by another, which brings the culture created by preceding generations within reach of the people. Others believe there exist only socialist cultural revolutions which must destroy everything created by the previous societies.

From a Marxist point of view, a cultural revolution takes place when a revolutionary political upheaval opens the way for the creation of a new political and social system leading to a definite renewal of the spiritual life of the people. The formation of a new, democratic or socialist culture takes place by mastering the cultural heritage of one's own people and that of other nations. Consequently, no cultural revolution took place in those countries in the West and East where bourgeois economy and bourgeois culture had been formed before the downfall of feudalism and the establishment of the power of the bourgeoisie. The political revolution which brought the bourgeoisie to power (French Revolution,

for example) gave scope for further development of bourgeois economy and culture from which the people were excluded before and after the revolution.

The problem of mastering all cultural riches and eliminating the profound distinctions between mental and manual labour cannot be solved under capitalism. It is one of the most acute problems of modern times.

According to UNESCO, out of the total number of 550 million children of school-age in the world today, 250 million do not attend school, and half the population of the globe can neither read nor write. In the 1950s, of all the children who had left primary schools in Asia and Africa only two per cent went to secondary schools. Both in colonial countries and in the newly-formed national states, and in industrially developed capitalist countries only part of the children continue their studies after leaving primary school. Specialised secondary education and higher education may be very expensive under capitalism. Often, only people belonging to the propertied classes can afford it.

Cultural revolutions occur in the present era in countries where national, democratic, anti-imperialist revolutions have been successful. They open the way for the people to a new, democratic life and make education, science, technology, art and other cultural values freely accessible to workers, peasants, the middle classes. Such cultural revolutions, national and democratic in

character, make particularly good progress in countries which have freed themselves from imperialist, colonial and feudal oppression, where revolutionary democratic reforms in the economic and political life of the society are carried out most consistently and where power is held by revolutionary, patriotic and democratic forces representing the interests of the people. In those countries the people get not only the right but also the practical possibility to receive education, master science and the arts, to create their own intelligentsia.

The cultural revolution in the socialist countries assumed a socialist character from its very beginning. The aim of the socialist cultural revolution was not only to do away with the dominance of the exploiters in the spiritual life of the society, to eliminate national inequality and chauvinism, antagonism between mental and manual labour, but also to build a new culture, socialist in content, to renovate the whole spiritual life of the people, to free them from the prejudices of the old system, from private-ownership mentality, to educate the people in the spirit of the new, collectivist society.

The Way to the Summits of Socialist Culture

The Soviet socialist cultural revolution began immediately after the political upheaval in the country, when the struggle

against the armed counter-revolution and foreign intervention was still going on. The Soviet state started its cultural activities with the liquidation of illiteracy, abolition of the class system in education, prohibition of persecution of national cultures and national languages, organisation of a single school and transfer to the people of all the spiritual culture (libraries, printing-works, museums, theatres). The peoples of the Soviet Union, all enjoying equal rights, were provided with ample opportunities to build and develop their national culture in their mother tongue, to continue and increase the progressive traits of their national cultural traditions, to train and bring up their own national intelligentsia—teachers, engineers, doctors, scientists, writers, painters and other representatives of arts and culture.

Particular attention was given by the Soviet state to improving the cultural and technical standard of the workers and peasants by bringing all the achievements of science, technology and culture within their reach. The workers and peasants themselves and their children, equally with the intellectuals, have become educated, cultural and conscious builders of the new, socialist society, creators of material and cultural values. Even many enemies of communism today admit that the Soviet Union has made enormous and undisputable cultural progress.

Less than 50 years ago, Russia took one of the last places in Europe in level of education and culture of the population. There

was a very wide gap between the high standard of Russian culture, the culture of Lomonosov, Pushkin, Mendeleyev, Tchaikovsky, Tolstoi, Pavlov, Gorky and Lenin, on the one hand, and the low level of literacy and culture of the common people, on the other. In pre-revolutionary Russia about three quarters of the population between 9 to 45 were illiterate. Among the workers and peasants there were very few whose education was above primary school. More than 50 nationalities had no written language of their own.

After the Revolution, it was necessary to liquidate the people's backwardness. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, set the task of liquidating in a few decades the legacy of many centuries by accomplishing a cultural revolution.

The cultural revolution was a task of incredible difficulty. The liberated peoples of the USSR inherited from the tsarist empire not only a low standard of culture, but also enormous economic and technical backwardness. Further, for almost twenty years (1917-1925 and 1941-1950) the Soviet state had to direct its main forces and energies to the struggle against foreign invaders and to the rehabilitation of its economy ruined by war. Nevertheless, in a very short time, practically in a quarter of a century, the Soviet Union made a great leap towards the summits of science and culture and is now among the world's leading cultural nations.

Nearly the whole population of the

USSR has become literate (in 1959 the percentage of literate persons between 9 and 45 was 97.8%). While in 1913 there were only 290,000 people in the country with a higher or specialised secondary education (i.e. fewer than two people per 1,000), in 1959 they numbered 13.4 million and, together with people with secondary education, 58.7 million (i.e. 287 people per 1,000). While 99 million copies of books were printed in Russia in 1913, 1,240 million copies of books in 89 languages were issued in the USSR in 1960. The number of cultural clubs increased in these years from 200 to 189,000, that of cinemas from 1,500 to 103,000, and so on.

Soviet achievements in the exploration of space, peaceful use of atomic energy and in other fields of science are well known, and the progress made in the arts is universally recognised.

Before 1917, many nationalities of the USSR suffered very much from social and national oppression, their cultural development was low and they were doomed to live in ignorance. Under the Soviet system, all peoples enjoy equal rights, they develop their national culture freely, they form their own national intelligentsia and create national art and literature in their mother tongue.

Soviet cultural development disproves the reactionary theories of the colonialists that the peoples of the underdeveloped countries and regions are incapable of self-government and that it will take these

peoples many decades and even centuries to make good the lag in education and raise their standard of culture. Soviet experience also refutes bourgeois and reformist theories that the low standard of culture inherited from the past is an insurmountable obstacle in the way of socialist construction and that the proletariat cannot seize power and govern the country until it becomes 'civilised' under capitalism.

The path traversed by the Soviet peoples to the summits of science and culture shows that after a socialist revolution there appears and develops a new law expressing the historical peculiarity of the cultural development of the new era. In the preceding societies a new culture gradually matured within these old societies themselves, and the transition of power to a new class only gave greater scope for its development, but socialist culture, whose rudiments are born under capitalism, cannot ripen and develop on a large scale under capitalism, and its all-round development only takes place after socialist revolution.

Soviet experience confirms Lenin's assertion that while under the aegis of imperialism and colonialism the working people's free cultural development is impossible; it is only under popular power, in the process of construction of a classless society that a new socialist culture is built, the cultural standard of the people rapidly rises, distinctions between physical and mental labour are gradually eliminated, and all this

leads to the development of society along the road of progress.

The formation in the USSR of an intelligentsia numbering over 23 million people (more than 10% of the whole population and over 20% of all working people), largely workers and peasants by origin, shows the falsity of the bourgeois conception that there exists "a closed society" in the countries of socialism, i.e., that mobility of the population from one social category to another is very limited. The facts refute these anti-scientific views. Thus, research made at enterprises in the USSR, particularly in the Sverdlovsk Region, shows that 65 to 75% of the engineering personnel engaged in these enterprises were once workers and peasants, or workers and peasants by birth; the remaining 25-35% were children of intellectuals of whom the overwhelming majority had been workers or peasants in the past. This essentially differs from the USA, where, according to investigations made by *Fortune*, only 13% of the executive officers in capitalist enterprises came from farming families and 8% from workers' families, the rest came from the families of proprietors of the enterprises or from a business milieu.

Soviet experience also disproves the mendacious inventions of bourgeois sociologists and renegades from the communist movement, such as Djilas, who allege that the intelligentsia in the USSR and in other socialist countries is a new privileged class opposed to the workers and peasants.

At the Fifth World Sociology Congress, held in Washington in 1962, Soviet speakers exposed the "arguments" and "calculations" of a certain L. Labedts, a Polish émigré who works for the London magazine *Soviet Survey*. In his papers "The Party, the Intelligentsia and Education in the Soviet Union" he alleged that "an elite is recruited" from among the new intelligentsia created in the USSR and that the rise of the educational standard among members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the increase in the number of specialist-members of the Party lead to the Party becoming more and more "an elite organisation." He apparently does not like to see that the rapid rise of the educational standard of Soviet workers and peasants naturally affects the composition of the Party, which unites in its ranks the foremost people in the country.

The formation in the USSR of a numerous intelligentsia, mainly from among the workers and peasants, has become a powerful factor of social progress. It has brought the achievements of science and culture within the reach of millions of people engaged in manual labour, has drawn nearer the interests of mental and manual workers and has favoured the creation of new scientific and cultural values. Contrary to the allegations of Western sociologists who consider the intelligentsia in the USSR and in other socialist countries to be a new privileged class, socialist intellectuals do not represent a special class, they comprise the

intelligentsia of the working class and peasantry. Their social interests are the same as those of the workers and peasants, they are owners of the means of production to the same extent as workers and peasants are and have the right of governing society equally with manual workers.

The intelligentsia in the USSR does not monopolise scientific and technical knowledge and production experience but passes it on to the workers and peasants. For this purpose there are many universities of culture, science and technology, scientific and technical societies and societies for the dissemination of knowledge, various schools, courses and lecturing bureaus for raising the qualification of workers and peasants. The intelligentsia exerts every effort to lighten labour conditions and improve the mode of life of the workers and peasants, to raise their cultural and technical standard to that of mental workers. The pay of mental workers does not exceed the average earnings of highly skilled manual workers. All this disproves the writings of bourgeois sociologists (Burnham and others) who allege that a managerial class has been formed in the USSR which under the Soviet system, just as in capitalist countries, now has control over the technical side of production. Burnham's views are based on the mistaken premise that modern engineering personnel, even if they do not own the means of production, concentrate in their hands in capitalist countries and in countries which have freed themselves from

capitalism actual control over the means of production, and consequently the direction of society, the power and privileges, occupying the position of the ruling class.

This premise is erroneous even in regard to capitalist countries since there the ownership of the means of production, control and management of them are mainly in the hands of monopolistic associations of capitalists—corporations, banks, etc. It is ridiculous to apply it to the socialist countries, where social ownership of the means of production is established, and control over the production process is in the hands of collective bodies (executive councils, kolkhoz boards and others), and persons accountable for their actions. These collective bodies and individuals are accountable to popular government bodies, are under their control and guidance as well as under public control (trade-unions, standing production conferences, commissions at enterprises controlling the activities of the administration, mass bodies of Party and state control, and so on.)

In agriculture the management of the collective farms is accountable to the farm members.

Thus, it is not the engineering personnel who control and direct the whole production process. They themselves are directed and controlled by the whole people, by the society in which both mental and manual workers—workers and peasants—enjoy full rights. Both intellectuals and workers and peasants act not only as performers of their

professional duties, but also as organisers and leaders of the production process and public life in the capacity of Deputies to the Soviets, workers of Party, trade-union, cooperative and public organisations, public inspectors, members of auditing and control commissions, and so forth.

Soviet experience shows that under socialism the rapid advance of general and technical education and culture brings about a rapprochement between mental and manual labour and the obliteration of distinctions between workers and peasants, on the one hand, and the intelligentsia, on the other. During 20 years only—from 1939 to 1959—the proportion of persons with secondary and higher education among people engaged mainly in manual labour increased almost 8 times, viz. from 4.3% to 31.6% and more than 20 times compared with 1926, when it was only 1.5%.

Needless to say, this profound change in the social structure ensures a high rate of development in modern production on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology.

The rise of the educational, cultural and technical standard of skilled workers in industry and agriculture has been particularly high. In 1959 persons with secondary and higher education accounted for 62.8% of all tuners and adjusters of machinery, 60.2% of the number of drivers of steam and Diesel locomotives, 53.5% of the number of metallurgists and metal workers, 39.1% of all combine operators, 41.9% of all

mechanics, couplers and other workers on agricultural machines, etc.

The most convincing refutation of the "elite" theories is the mass formation in the USSR of such categories of the population as worker-intellectuals and peasant-intellectuals. While in 1926 the percentage of Soviet people with secondary education among manual workers was only 1.5%, now more than a third of all people mainly engaged in manual labour have a secondary or a higher education; in 1963 the percentage was 40% among workers and over 23% among peasants.

Educated workers in socialist society are a new type of people: they are distinguished by high cultural standards, take an active part in public work and exercise both mental and manual functions in their work.

The biographies of the Soviet cosmonauts serve as remarkable proof of the rise of the cultural standard of Soviet workers and peasants. These heroic space conquerors are people of broad culture with an extensive scientific outlook. They are workers and peasants by birth and have received secondary and specialised education. They worked as skilled workers and technicians, then studied at flying schools, became pilots and now continue studying.

The spiritual life of Soviet workers and peasants is by no means confined to their general and professional education. Soviet society affords ample opportunities for the development of diverse abilities and talents

among working people according to their own choice. Over two million industrial workers, collective farmers and office workers are rationalisers and inventors, and are assisted, free of charge, by design offices, draughting bureaus, experimental shops, laboratories, etc. Nearly 59 million people regularly borrow books from state and public libraries. About 30 million people go in for sport and have free at their disposal stadiums, sports centres and equipment. More than 13 million people took part in tourist hikes and mountaineering in 1962. Over 9 million industrial and office workers and collective farmers take a great interest in amateur art, participating in the work of people's theatres, choirs, ballet studios, dramatic and art associations, etc.* More than 1.5 million workers and peasants study at universities of culture.

Every large-scale enterprise becomes a centre not only of technical progress but of science and culture as well. Thus, the following educational, cultural and research establishments are functioning at the Uralmash Plant in Sverdlovsk: a Research Institute for Machine-Building, a People's University of Culture, an Evening Polytechnical Institute, two technical schools, seven secondary schools, shop schools for young workers, a scientific and technical exhibition, numerous courses, etc. There is also a Palace of Culture there with a people's dramatic theatre, opera and ballet studios,

* See *The National Economy of USSR in 1962*. Gosstatizdat, 1963, pp. 714, 718, 751.

an academic choir, a studio of fine arts, an amateur film studio, symphonic orchestras, variety companies and other amateur groups composed of workers and employees of the Uralmash Plant. The standard of artistic performance of these amateur collectives comes near to professional art and is often not inferior to it.

Sociological research carried out in the USSR reveals the many-sided character of the spiritual interests of Soviet workers. For instance, according to the questionnaires from workers with a secondary education at the Sverdlovsk Uralmash Plant, the hobby of 20% of their number is creative technical work, 20% are keen on amateur art, 22% are fond of political and scientific literature as well as fiction, the rest go in for sport, tourism, gardening.

All this disproves the conjectures of some Western authors about the "standardising" or "levelling" of the spiritual needs and public interests of Soviet people.

Most Soviet workers voluntarily and actively work in the Soviets, trade-union or public organisations (being elected there), or are engaged in work entrusted to them by their collectives. This refutes the assertions of bourgeois sociologists like a Mr. Friedman, for example, who states that everywhere, irrespective of the character of social relations, the worker on finishing his day's job does not care about production and is not interested in public affairs. but spends all his spare time in rest, sport and entertainment.

The development of socialist culture and the rapprochement between mental and manual labour in the USSR has entered a new phase. Soviet society, engaged in large-scale communist construction, has set itself the task, scientifically substantiated in the CPSU Programme of raising within the next twenty years the general educational, cultural and technical standard of the workers and peasants to that of the intelligentsia, to eliminate the main distinctions between mental and manual labour.

In the sixties and seventies, the bulk of the working population is to receive through various channels a higher, specialised secondary or full secondary education. This is a difficult task if we consider that over two-thirds of the working population in the USSR have not yet got a secondary education. But it can quite be accomplished within twenty years in conditions of peaceful construction of communism. In the preceding 32 years (1926-1958) of which the war and the rehabilitation of the wrecked economy took 10 years, the educational standard of people engaged in manual work rose more than 20 times. Among manual and mental workers who received a secondary and a higher education, the share of manual workers has sharply increased (in 1926 the proportion was 1:30, in 1939—1:11.5 and in January, 1959—1:2.75).

By 1980 it is quite possible to reduce this gap to a minimum and subsequently to eliminate it completely.

The Soviet press and scientific quarters are now discussing the question of the type of mind a person will have in future society, whether technical progress—automation of production, cybernetics, the achievements of natural science, etc., will play the predominant role in the formation of his mind, or whether an equally important part will be played by humanitarian knowledge, art and other spiritual values. A great majority of scientists, technologists and cultural workers adhere to the latter view.

For the formation of the new personality, who combines manual with mental labour, there are needed, besides material prerequisites created by automation, comprehensive mechanisation of production, cybernetics, etc., also social, cultural and ideological preconditions and, above all, an all-round development of the person possessing a new scientific outlook and a collectivist morality. These prerequisites do not exist under capitalism and can only be created in socialist society. In the process of building communist society on the basis of scientific and technical progress, workers in industry and agriculture will have all the conditions necessary for creative work similar to those existing in laboratories and design offices for scientists and engineers. The character of the workers' labour will change materially: there will be no need for hard and unskilled manual labour, the creative, intellectual element in work will sharply rise in importance, requiring from the workers all-round development, scientific

and technological knowledge and a high standard of culture.

Under communism workers will combine in their work functions of both mental and highly skilled manual labour. Industrial and agricultural workers in a developed communist society will be equally placed with people engaged in mental work, in respect of the character of their labour, standard of education and culture, means and extent of satisfaction of their material and spiritual requirements. Under communism, therefore the intelligentsia will cease to be a special group which, in contrast to manual workers, now mainly exercise functions of mental labour.

At the same time, as communism is being built the number of people professionally engaged in intellectual work (scientists, designers, doctors, artists, etc.) will also increase.

In the coming 20 years, scores of millions of people in the USSR will receive a higher and secondary specialised education; in higher educational institutions alone the number of students will increase more than threefold. And later on, after a lapse of 20 years, a still more difficult and immense task will be accomplished—that of giving a higher education to the whole growing generation and to all working people who so desire it and possess the necessary abilities. The secondary and higher schools, in combining training with productive work, will bring up a generation capable of doing both manual and mental work, of working active-

ly in different fields of social and public life, in science and culture.

The rise of the educational, vocational and technical standard of the workers and peasants to that of the intelligentsia and the rapprochement between mental and manual labour by no means signify that communist society will give up vocational training of specialists engaged in mental work. Though under communism there will be no need for the intelligentsia as a special social group, since the workers and peasants will rise to the standard of the intellectuals in respect of conditions of labour, character of work, cultural and technical level, there will be a steady increase in the number of scientists, designers, engineers, agronomists, doctors, teachers, art workers and other specialists engaged in intellectual pursuits. Their number will grow much faster than the aggregate population, and their share among the population will greatly increase.

Great changes in culture and education will take place in the countryside, where in order to achieve the fusing of mental and manual labour it will be necessary to improve technical equipment in agriculture and raise organisation of production to the level of modern industry. It will be necessary to train highly skilled workers with an agricultural education, who will be able to use new machinery, transform the villages into well-appointed settlements of an urban type and thus eliminate the main

distinctions in culture and mode of life between town and country.

The shortening of the working day and the lengthening of leisure time will remarkably increase the opportunities for the development of the abilities and talents of all working people. Already today a seven-hour working day has been introduced in the USSR (a 40-hour working week).

The distribution of means from social consumption funds will increase many times and by 1980 will amount to half of the real income of the population. These funds are used to cover the costs of free education, of maintaining children in boarding-schools and other children's institutions, to satisfy the cultural and everyday requirements of the population, etc. The society creates means, freely available to everybody, for an all-round education: well-equipped schools and institutes, sports facilities, scientific and technical laboratories, clubs, art studios, film studios, etc.

By providing every member of society, regardless of his social origin, race, nationality, sex, occupation, residence, etc., with equal opportunities for creative work and education, communist society will be able to multiply on a scale unknown in history the production of material and cultural wealth, to distribute it according to needs, to create scientific and artistic values of supreme importance, to bring up a generation harmoniously combining spiritual wealth, moral purity and physical perfection.

If, in the preceding short period, the peoples of the Soviet Union have been able to advance from illiteracy and backwardness to the achievements of socialist culture, in future the Soviet Union will proceed even faster to the summits of socialist culture. On its way it will be necessary to accomplish the fusing of mental and manual labour and, by creating the material and technical basis of communism, to make a new stride of world historic importance on the road of social progress.

Educating a New Personality

Some western writers reiterate that socialism can only remake the political system, the economy and technology, but it cannot change people's minds and morals, their spiritual life, because all people are by nature individualistic and egoistical and can never become collectivists and humanists. They allege that in the Soviet Union it is the "elite" that spreads the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, but the way of thinking and life of the bulk of the people remains traditionally the same, namely individualistic, egoistical and alien to collectivism. They contend that the way of thinking and the morals of Soviet youth are quite different from those of old Party members and that in its consciousness and behaviour the younger generation follows the western pattern. Further they allege that socialism is incompatible with human-

ism, i.e. with love for people and care for their happiness and welfare, because socialism suppresses personality, restricts man's spiritual and moral freedom, unifies the spiritual life of society, and so on. Sometimes even in progressively-minded circles, there are similar erroneous ideas. Now and then one meets with the following reasoning: since material equality does not yet exist in the USSR and there are differences in pay according to work and since there are substantial differences between the leaders and the intelligentsia, on the one hand, and the workers and peasants, on the other, Soviet people are becoming "bourgeois-minded," and bourgeois views and morals are being restored in their minds and behaviour. Such writers do not see the woods for the trees: they read in Soviet newspapers and magazines sharp critical articles levelled against backward Soviet citizens who have not yet got over old, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views and morals and whose moods and actions are anti-socialist, and make hasty generalisations, or draw wrong conclusions to the effect that such views and morals are in the usual run of things in the USSR, that bourgeois classes and capitalist elements remain. Our opponents sometimes misjudge the humanism of Soviet culture, alleging that what is preached in the Soviet Union is abstract humanism, love for man in general, including love for one's enemies. Soviet humanism, with which Soviet art, science, philosophy and culture are

inspired, is in fact socialist humanism, love for all working people in the world, a striving for the liberation of man from all kinds of oppression, want, threat, wars, the care for the welfare and happiness of the working man and for his all-round development.

Not always is it understood that expansion of scientific and cultural contacts with capitalist countries is absolutely necessary in conditions of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. At the same time, Soviet people have been and remain consistent opponents of peaceful coexistence between socialist and bourgeois ideologies. They resolutely and consistently oppose imperialism, colonialism, national discrimination and obscurantism.

Those who have been to the Soviet Union or studied its life from books, films and other sources may convince themselves that during the years of socialist construction, owing to changes in economy and culture and to the immense ideological work of the Party, radical changes have taken place in the consciousness, morals and the whole spiritual life of the mass of Soviet people.

Karl Marx once wrote that "people rejuvenate themselves to the same extent to which they rejuvenate the world whose wealth they create." This is being realised in the Soviet Union. In contrast to changes in economic and social relations, changes in the spiritual life of society, in the cultural

standards and consciousness of its members do not lend themselves to measurement by means of figures. But there is a true criterion here, too. That is the social consequences of the changes in society's cultural and spiritual life. The main distinction between socialist consciousness and the whole spiritual life of Soviet society, on the one hand, and bourgeois consciousness, on the other, consists in that the bulk of members of Soviet society have for ever broken with bourgeois and feudal social relations based on private ownership and exploitation of man by man, do not want and will not allow them to be restored and revived.

The last war proved indisputably that the Soviet people, including the majority of those who in the past had belonged to the propertied classes, did not spare their lives to defend the socialist gains, the liberty and independence of their socialist land. The Soviet people had to endure great hardships in the war years and in the years of the rehabilitation of the wrecked economy in occupied regions, but the bulk of the Soviet people, brought up by the new culture in a socialist spirit, did not waver from the socialist path. The Soviet people see in the development and strengthening of the social economy based on state and collective property the right way to their happiness and welfare, they do not wish for the return of private ownership of the means of production, of opportunities to live on unearned income.

This is why the Soviet people so severely condemn those depraved individuals who for the sake of their personal well-being try to get rich at the expense of society by speculation, plundering of social property, etc.

The whole force of the Soviet law and socialist public opinion is levelled against individuals who have come under the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois survivals. Therefore there can be no question of the Soviet people becoming "bourgeois-minded," of the restoration of bourgeois elements and idle classes in the USSR. In the first phase of communism, in which the Soviet Union is at the present time, there still exist the personal subsidiary farms belonging to collective farmers, while the land and the chief means of production are social property, private ownership of small houses (comprising not more than 4-5 rooms) in villages, towns and settlements as well as of articles for personal use. None of these sources, however, can become for any length of time a source of exploitation. At the higher phase of communism, complete material equality will be achieved, and all economic means, all dwellings, etc., will become social property.

Another, no less important distinctive feature of socialist consciousness and the whole spiritual life of Soviet society, is the new, socialist attitude towards labour. While under the system of exploitation labour was, as a rule, compulsory, exhaust-

ing and did not bring the working man any satisfaction, under socialism labour has ceased to be a curse. The Soviet socialist society, using all cultural means (school, art, public opinion, etc.), has cultivated a new attitude towards labour. Soviet people regard labour as a matter of honour, a sacred duty and obligation to society.

If any cult does exist in the USSR now, it is the cult of labour. Those who have been to the Soviet Union, know that a man commands respect in Soviet society not by his nationality, origin, rank, riches, education certificate, post or Party membership. In the USSR people above all respect and value men of labour, selfless workers, experts at their jobs. It is the men of labour who enjoy esteem in society.

Particularly respected and valued are the working people—factory-workers, collective farmers, intellectuals—who have mastered the techniques of their work, whose labour productivity is high, who constantly improve their cultural standard and qualifications, who, regardless of time, strive to do as much as possible for the society not requiring any special privileges. That is why all the channels of the dissemination of culture (films, radio, fiction, periodicals, scientific works, educational literature) show that it is the people who set examples of a new, communist attitude towards labour that are held in high esteem. And that is why Soviet people denounce idlers, self-seekers, undisciplined people,

bureaucrats and ignoramuses. If Soviet newspapers sharply censure such people, it is not because there are many of them but because the overwhelming majority of members of the society work honestly, in a socialist way, and do not want anybody to hamper them.

Only those who know little of Soviet youth or treat it with prejudice can attribute to it unwillingness to work, selflishness, indifference to the interests of society and other bourgeois views and tastes. Hundreds of thousands, millions of Soviet young people left the big towns, well-appointed quarters, domestic comfort, and, at the call of the Communist Party, went to sparsely populated regions in the North and in the East of the country, to virgin lands and new projects to build industrial enterprises or develop agriculture.

The consciousness and spiritual culture of Soviet socialist society radically differ from the spiritual life of bourgeois society. The old national dissension and animosity, national isolation and estrangement in different spheres including culture have vanished without trace. Mutual profound respect and confidence, the development of internationalist relations between the Soviet nationalities, all enjoying equal rights, are the distinguishing features of the Soviet society. The socialist content of Soviet culture does not tolerate any indifference to national traditions, including cultural, any exaggeration of the role of one's own people and its culture in the history

of mankind and its setting off against other peoples. The best that has been created by science, philosophy, literature, art, the spiritual culture of one's own people and all the peoples in the world, comprises the spiritual treasury of the Soviet people, is thoroughly and systematically studied by Soviet youth, the intelligentsia, is popularised by the press, by radio, on the stage, in films and on television. The works of foreign writers, scientists and philosophers are published in the USSR in very large editions, often unprecedented in their home countries. Scientific works on the history of the world, history of philosophy, history of literature written in the Soviet Union re-establish the historical truth about the great role played in the history of mankind and its culture by both peoples in the East and peoples in the West. These works disprove colonialist and other conceptions representing Europe as the only centre in the history of world culture, as well as the equally wrong conceptions about the Eastern countries being the only cradle of science, art and philosophy.

Owing to the great cultural and ideological work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, all remnants of dissent among nationalities and chauvinist mistrust of other peoples incited by tsarism, landlords and capitalists have been eliminated.

Numerous historical facts and recent events show that the mass of Soviet people

have been brought up in the spirit of internationalism, love and respect for other peoples and abhorrence of imperialism and colonialism. During the last war, the Soviet people did not limit themselves to driving out the nazi invaders, but at great sacrifice fulfilled their international duty by throwing out the Germans and Japanese from the vast territories seized by them in eastern and southern Europe, in North China, in North Korea and elsewhere. In post-war years the Soviet people, often denying themselves many necessities, have rendered help to the peoples who have liberated themselves from imperialism and colonialism. The Soviet people have been sending specialists and highly skilled workers to the developing countries to pass on their experience; they give priority to orders for construction projects, enterprises and to satisfying other needs of foreign countries which have taken the road of independent development. Solidarity with and every kind of assistance to peoples struggling for their independence are an integral part of the law of Soviet society.

The ideas of internationalism in Soviet culture, the world outlook and the whole spiritual life of Soviet society by no means signify that Soviet people do not attach importance to national distinctions and are trying to obliterate them as quickly as possible and replace national culture by some kind of abstract culture, common to all mankind. It is ridiculous to say that "Russification" is going on in the USSR, i.e.

the absorption by Russian culture of the culture and languages of other nationalities.

Under the Soviet system, spiritual culture is developing in more than 90 languages. Before the Revolution, over 50 peoples had no written language of their own. Now, every Soviet people has its state organisation, a numerous national intelligentsia, schools, higher educational institutions, theatres, a press in the mother tongue and so on. And if, while developing their culture in the mother tongue, every Soviet people at their own will and choice strive to master the Russian language, which in the Soviet Union is becoming a language of intercourse between different nationalities, as well as the languages of other peoples of the USSR and foreign countries, this is by no means prejudicial to any Soviet nationality or its culture, but makes its achievements in science, art and culture the common property of all Soviet peoples and many peoples abroad.

Soviet socialist culture strives to bring up all Soviet people so that they can see in the building of a new, communist society not only their purely national, but also an international cause, common to all humanity. The triumphs of communist construction in the USSR are inseparably linked with the successes of class struggle and the national-liberation fight against imperialism.

Revolutionary optimism, a deep and firm belief in final victory over

the forces of imperialism, reaction, colonialism and obscurantism are distinctive features of socialist consciousness and the whole spiritual life of the Soviet people. In contrast to bourgeois culture, Soviet culture and socialist ideology do not stagnate or "fade" away. The main stimulus of the Soviet people, also in the sphere of culture, has been a constant striving forward to communism, a striving inseparably linked with the tireless fight against imperialism and reaction for universal peace, national freedom and the happiness of peoples. Enthusiasm, daring and initiative distinguish the foremost workers and peasants, scientists and writers, engineers and designers, leaders as well as the common Soviet people.

Soviet science and culture, following the principles of Marxist-Leninist dialectics, do not try to put any limits on the progress of conscious activity of people, their scientific knowledge, art and culture. Soviet people do not regard the standard of spiritual life reached by them as "the ultimate in truth," but create unlimited scope for the development of all aspects of science, art, and culture meeting the interests of social progress. They do not regard socialist consciousness, which prevails as a result of the building of socialism in the USSR, and socialist culture as something that has taken final shape and is not liable to change. One of the basic principles of Soviet culture is the demand for continuous development and perfection of the social-

ist culture itself, of the whole spiritual life of society. We are confident that the communist future will bring new, hitherto unknown forms and achievements in science, art, spiritual culture, enriching the culture of mankind with new values.

Much can also be said here about certain other features of Soviet socialist culture, for example, that it is based on a clear scientific world outlook and liberates people from prejudice and superstition, or that scientists, engineers, artists, sportsmen, etc., combine high professional skill with mass participation in amateur art and, lastly, that public spiritedness is growing from year to year, and cultural and educational functions are being transferred on an ever increasing scale from the state to trade unions, collective farms and other public organisations.

Everything stated above convincingly shows that Soviet science, literature, art and socialist culture are properly serving the communist education of a new personality. Under socialism there are formed new spiritual and moral qualities and views, particularly in Soviet youth, which radically differ from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views, ideas and morals.

Socialist Ideology versus Imperialist Ideology

Socialist ideology and Marxist-Leninist world outlook have gained ultimate victory

and have become firmly established in culture and the whole spiritual life of socialist society. Since there are no antagonistic classes struggling against each other in socialist society, development in science, literature, art and public thought takes place not by means of a struggle between hostile ideologies, but by dint of a struggle of opinions on the basis of a common Marxist-Leninist world outlook, by a contest between different scientific schools, literary genres, artistic styles, and so on. In this respect, socialist society, its spiritual life and culture, differs from the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. In that period a prolonged struggle between classes for a socialist or capitalist way of development brought about a struggle between opposed ideologies which was reflected in art, philosophy, science, etc.; this class struggle did not give scope for a free contest and flourishing of different schools in science and art.

At the same time Soviet culture does not develop in a vacuum, in isolation from the struggle against the imperialists by the progressive forces of modern times—the world socialist system, the international working class, the peoples liberating themselves from colonial oppression. Soviet science, art and culture lead the fight against imperialism, neo-colonialism and their brigand ideology, against the forces of aggression and their reactionary "culture."

In conditions of peaceful coexistence

with capitalist countries, the main contradiction in spiritual life is that between socialist and bourgeois ideologies. The struggle between them represents the most important objective law of ideological development of the present time.

With the exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism, world reaction is making more and more furious efforts to hamper the development of the world socialist system, is trying to undermine its forces and restore the bourgeois order in socialist countries. Many imperialist politicians are well aware that open aggression against the socialist camp, or the unleashing of a world war is unwise. The military superiority of the Soviet Union, the activity of all peace-loving forces headed by the socialist camp have a sobering effect on them. The feeling is growing more and more that to unleash a new world war means signing capitalism's death warrant. The hopes of the imperialists that socialism will not be able to gain victory over capitalism in economic competition or at least will gain it in the very distant future have also been dashed. At the present time the advantages of socialism in the economic sphere and the rates of economic development and rise of material well-being in socialist countries are steadily increasing. Bourgeois propaganda is finding it more and more difficult to stem these facts. The imperialists, therefore, while not giving up other forms of struggle against socialism, count mainly on subversive ideological

activities, on frantic anti-communism. They are trying to demoralise ideologically unstable people in socialist countries. For this purpose all possible means are used—from libellous attacks on the theory and practice of communist construction to propaganda of bourgeois individualistic conceptions.

At one time bourgeois ideologists tried hard to make use in their own interests of the personality cult, inducing ideologically immature people to run down everything that has been achieved by the Soviet people and its Party, spreading tales that a new ruling class was springing up in the USSR and an acute class struggle was going on there.

Having satisfied themselves that this libellous campaign had not led the Soviet people astray, the apologists of capitalism spread lies about antagonism between generations in Soviet society. But this campaign also fell through. The yes-men of the bourgeois propagandists by their tittle-tattle about "the conflict of generations" concealed the conflict which actually exists in Soviet society between working people and idlers, between people with communist convictions and individualists devoid of principles and ideals, philistines indifferent to politics, between builders of communist social relations and slackers who violate the principles of socialist society.

The struggle between the communist and bourgeois ideologies is now proceeding in all directions—in politics and aesthetics, in general problems of world outlook

and ethics. It is growing sharper and will become more and more severe as imperialist reaction grows more unstable and the bourgeoisie for this reason is striving more fiercely to hold its ground. This uncompromising ideological fight is an expression of the class struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism. There can be no compromise, no concessions in this struggle. Any attempt to preach peaceful coexistence of ideologies cannot be regarded otherwise than disloyalty to Marxism-Leninism and betrayal of the workers' cause.

It would be naive to believe that the class struggle in ideology is not reflected within socialist society, that Soviet society is fully insured against holders of bourgeois views.

The Programme of the CPSU stresses that in the Soviet Union social, political and ideological unity has been achieved. The ideological unity of the Soviet people is a great historic achievement of socialism. But, according to dialectics, unity does not exclude contradictions. Ideological unity in socialist society does not preclude the struggle that this society is carrying on against reactionary and backward ideas, convictions and sentiments.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the whole Soviet people consider that the main task in cultural and ideological work today is to educate all working people in a communist spirit, to eliminate completely survivals of bourgeois

views and morals, to encourage all-round and harmonious development of the personality, and to create a genuine wealth of spiritual culture.

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